21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures
were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide bet-
ter means of transportation to Europe than the irregular sys-
tem of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three
years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart
and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane.
They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe,
which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the
century, as a result of the European wars.

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*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
•669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to
a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and
physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they
lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took
them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered
another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his
wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[1] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[1] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brasil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.

It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.

The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia]; June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the

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[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *ydyds* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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[824] oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[1175] [669] [36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 260]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 [669] [642] During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician, and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the